

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 ( ISO ) W  
-----050110Z 006105 /63  
O P 042144Z MAY 77 ZFF 4  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7994  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY  
USMISSION USBERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 04 BONN 07750

EXDIS

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/CE

LONDON ALSO FOR EUR/CE DIRECTOR ANDERSON

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: NATO PFOR PGOV WB US UK FR GW  
SUBJECT: NATOMIN: QUADRIpartite MEETINGS ON GERMANY  
AND BERLIN (ASSESSMENT)

REFS: (A) BONN 7748; (B) STATE 99099;  
(C) BONN 7386; (D) BONN 7474; (E) BONN 7476

BEGIN SUMMARY. BRITISH INSTRUCTIONS HAVE NECESSITATED  
CONSIDERABLE REVISION IN THE AD REF TEXT OF THE BONN  
GROUP ASSESSMENT ON BERLIN PREPARED FOR THE QUADRIpartite  
MEETINGS. THE BRITISH REP REALIZES THAT SOME  
DELEGATIONS HAVE ALREADY SUBMITTED THE EARLIER DRAFT  
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TO PRINCIPALS BUT ASKS THAT THE FACT THAT THE DRAFT  
HAD NOT YET BEEN CLEARED BY THE UK AND THAT SEVERAL  
DISAGREEMENTS OF SUBSTANCE EXIST BE BROUGHT TO THE  
ATTENTION OF PRINCIPALS. REFTel (A) CONTAINS THE  
TEXT OF THE ASSESSMENT AS REVISED IN THE BONN  
GROUP ON MAY 4. THIS TELEGRAM POINTS OUT THE PASSAGES  
WHICH HAVE BEEN CHANGED AND COMMENTS ON SOME OF THE

CHANGES. END SUMMARY.

1. ON THE MORNING OF MAY 4 THE UK BONN GROUP REP RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS REQUESTING EXTENSIVE CHANGES TO THE AD REF TEXT OF THE BERLIN ASSESSMENT (REFS C, D AND E, AS APPROVED BY THE DEPARTMENT IN REF B). THE FRENCH REP ALSO WAS INSTRUCTED TO REQUEST ONE RELATIVELY NON-CONTROVERSIAL CHANGE. THE RESULT WAS ANOTHER SIX-HOUR DRAFTING SESSION ON THE ASSESSMENT.

2. THE UK REP (EYERS) TOOK NOTE OF THE FACT THAT THE AD REF TEXT HAD ALREADY BEEN SUBMITTED TO THE FRG FOREIGN MINISTER AND CHANCELLOR AND THAT THE US BRIEFING BOOKS HAD IN ALL PROBABILITY BEEN CLOSED. HE ASKED NEVERTHELESS THAT ALL REPS RECALL THAT THE DRAFT WAS ONLY AD REF AND COULD NOT BE CONSIDERED A FINAL TEXT UNTIL APPROVED IN ALL FOUR CAPITALS. IN VIEW OF MISUNDERSTANDINGS WHICH AROSE AT THE DECEMBER SENIOR LEVEL MEETING OVER THIS ISSUE, AGAIN BECAUSE BRITISH REQUESTS FOR AMENDMENTS HAD BEEN RECEIVED TOO LATE FOR NORMAL TREATMENT IN THE BONN GROUP, ALL REPS AGREED TO MAKE A SPECIAL POINT OF CALLING TO THE ATTENTION OF CAPITALS THAT DISAGREEMENTS EXISTED IN THE TEXT.

3. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE ONLY FEASIBLE WAY OF PROCEEDING WAS TO TAKE UP THE PROPOSED AMENDMENTS ONE BY ONE IN AN ATTEMPT TO MINIMIZE DIFFERENCES TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE, AT LEAST AT THE BONN GROUP LEVEL. IN FOUR INSTANCES WHERE DIFFERENCES OF PRINCIPLE REMAINED,  
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BRITISH RESERVATIONS WERE INDICATED BY BRACKETS.

4. IN REF (A) WE ARE TRANSMITTING A COMPLETE REVISED TEXT OF THE ASSESSMENT, ALONG WITH COMMENTS INDICATING THE UK POSITION ON THE FOUR BRACKETED PASSAGES. WE RECOGNIZE THAT IT IS NOT FEASIBLE TO ASK FOR INSTRUCTIONS ON THE REVISED TEXT AT THIS POINT BUT ASK THAT THE FACT THAT REVISIONS HAVE BEEN MADE (OR REQUESTED) BE CALLED TO THE ATTENTION OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE SENIOR LEVEL MEETING. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY HIBBERT, WHO WILL AGAIN BE IN THE CHAIR, WILL AS IN DECEMBER ENDEAVOR TO HAVE HIS CHANGES DISCUSSED AT THE SENIOR LEVEL MEETING.

5. WHILE MANY OF THE CHANGES PROPOSED BY HIBBERT WERE IN THEMSELVES MINOR, CUMULATIVELY THEY REFLECTED A DIFFERENCE OF VIEWPOINT ON THE EVALUATION WHICH WE SHOULD GIVE TO THE RECENT GDR ACTIONS AND, POSSIBLY, TO THE SOVIET DEMARCHE ON PATROLS. THEY WOULD INCORPORATE TO

SOME EXTENT HIS PHILOSOPHY THAT THE GDR ACTIONS WERE

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-----050110Z 006114 /63

O P 042144Z MAY 77 ZFF 4  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7995  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY  
USMISSION USBERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
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"NORMAL" AND "LOGICAL" AND ALSO THAT THERE WAS REALLY NOTHING NEW ABOUT THE STEPS WHICH BEGAN TO UNFOLD AROUND THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR. THEY ALSO WOULD REINFORCE HIS THEORY THAT IT IS NOT THE STATUS OF BERLIN WHICH IS AT STAKE BUT QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES, AND THAT THE LATTER ARE BEYOND THE POWER OF THE GDR TO DAMAGE. IT WAS BECAUSE OF THIS BASIC THRUST OF THE UK AMENDMENTS THAT OTHER REPS RESISTED MANY OF THE INDIVIDUAL CHANGES. EYERS FOR HIS PART WORKED HARD TO PROMOTE COMPROMISE WHEREVER POSSIBLE, AND WE ARE NOT CERTAIN OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH HE WILL BE SUPPORTED BY HIBBERT IN INSTANCES WHEN HE AGREED TO MODIFICATIONS OF THE CHANGES HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO OBTAIN.

6. FOLLOWING ARE COMMENTS ON THE PASSAGES WHICH HAVE BEEN REVISED (ALL CHANGES WERE MADE AT UK REQUEST EXCEPT, AS INDICATED, IN PARA 15):

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-- PARA 5: THE FINAL SENTENCE OF THE ORIGINAL DRAFT HAS BEEN DELETED. THIS REQUEST WAS DOUBTLESS A REFLECTION OF THE UK RESERVATION, IN ENTERING INTO THE VIABILITY STUDY, AGAINST COMMITTING UK RESOURCES TO IMPLEMENT ANY RECOMMENDATIONS THAT MIGHT EMERGE FROM THE STUDY.

-- PARA 11: THE FRG REP (HENZE) IN PARTICULAR OBJECTED TO THE PROPOSED BRITISH AMENDMENT, BUT US AND FRENCH REPS ALSO THOUGHT IT UNNECESSARILY WEAKENED THE ORIGINAL TEXT. HENZE HAD HAD DIFFICULTY FROM THE OUTSET IN ACCEPTING LANGUAGE STATING THAT BOTH SIDES SOUGHT TO INTERPRET THE QA IN THEIR FAVOR, AND DELETION OF THE QUALIFYING CLAUSE THAT THE SOVIET UNION GOES EVEN BEYOND THAT MADE THE SENTENCE TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO HIM. AS FOR THE FINAL SENTENCE OF THE PARAGRAPH, HENZE POINTED OUT THAT THERE WAS A CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A "RESTRICTIVE INTERPRETATION" OF THE PASSAGE ON THE TIES -- WHICH HIBBERT ADVOCATED -- AND THE EARLIER WORDING. AS HAD BEEN AGREED IN CONNECTION WITH THE DECEMBER 1976 C PRESENTATION STUDY, THE SOVIETS IN MANY INSTANCES, IN THEIR ATTACKS ON THE FEDERAL PRESENCE IN BERLIN, ARE NOT ONLY TRYING TO PREVENT "DEVELOPMENT" OF THE TIES BUT ARE ACTUALLY INTERFERING WITH THEIR "MAINTENANCE" -- A POSITION THEY FOUGHT FOR BUT LOST IN THE QA ITSELF.

-- PARA 13: THE REQUESTED UK CHANGE WAS BASED ON TWO GROUNDS: THAT THE SOVIETS THEMSELVES HAVE TAKEN NO "ACTIONS," AND THAT THOSE TAKEN BY THE GDR HAVE HAD NO IMPACT ON ALLIED RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. THE OTHER THREE REPS ALL REJECTED THE PROPOSED CHANGES (INCLUDING THE PHRASE "IN THE OLD GREATER BERLIN," WHICH SUGGESTS THAT THE UK IS WILLING TO AGREE THAT GREATER BERLIN HAS CEASED TO EXIST). BOISSIEU WAS PARTICULARLY OUTSPOKEN.

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HE THOUGHT WE SHOULD USE THE WORD "PURPORTING" ONLY IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS, NOT IN INTERNAL DOCUMENTS. IF PRESENT TRENDS CONTINUE, BOISSIEU SAID, WE WILL BE LEFT NAKED EVEN IF WE ADOPT THE HIBBERT THESIS THAT THE PERSON WHO STOLE OUR CLOTHES WASN'T COMPETENT TO DO SO. THERE WAS ALSO A STYLISTIC OBJECTION TO THE PROPOSED CHANGE, IN THAT THE WORDING REQUESTED BY THE UK WOULD FURTHER DIFFUSE THE MEANING OF PARA 13. AS ORIGINALLY

DRAFTED, THE PARAGRAPH WAS MEANT TO MARK THE TRANSITION BETWEEN PARA 12, WHICH NOTES THAT MOST SOVIET ACTION HERETOFORE HAS BEEN DIRECTED AT THE FRG AND ITS TIES WITH BERLIN, AND THE REST OF THE PAPER, WHICH POINTS OUT THAT THE SOVIETS AND THE GDR NOW HAVE BEGUN TO CONCENTRATE ON MATTERS DIRECTLY AFFECTING THE STATUS OF THE CITY AND THEREFORE ALLIED RIGHTS.

-- PARA 15: IN THE FIRST SENTENCE, THE BRITISH PROPOSAL TO CHANGE "DEMAND" TO "REQUEST" WAS ACCEPTED. TWO SENTENCES WERE ADDED AT FRENCH REQUEST; EYERS FELT UNABLE TO ACCEPT THE FIRST OF THESE BECAUSE OF ITS REFERENCE TO THE "STATUS" OF BERLIN.

-- PARAGRAPH 16, WHICH ORIGINALLY CONTAINED ONLY FIVE SUBPARAGRAPHS, NOW HAS SIX. THE UK REQUESTED DELETION OF THE FIRST SUBPARAGRAPH OF THE EARLIER DRAFT AND SUBSTITUTION OF THE FOLLOWING:

"THEIR KNOWLEDGE THAT THE INDIVIDUAL MEASURES WERE AMBIGUOUS IN NATURE AND BEYOND THE PHYSICAL REACH OF THE ALLIES AND THEREFORE NOT CAPABLE

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CIAE-00 ( ISO ) W

-----061813Z 053634 /63

O P 042144Z MAY 77 ZFF 4

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7996

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

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OF BEING MET BY AN EFFECTIVE ALLIED  
RESPONSE. THEY DID NOT AFFECT THE QRR AND  
COULD NOT BE SHOWN TO BE IN VIOLATION OF THE QA."

OTHER REPS THOUGHT THE ABOVE WAS ACTUALLY A DIFFERENT  
REASON FROM THE ONE IT WAS MEANT TO REPLACE. AGREEMENT  
WAS EVENTUALLY REACHED ON AMENDMENTS TO SUBPARAGRAPH  
16(A) WHICH EYERS THOUGHT WOULD MEET LONDON'S OBJECTIONS  
TO IT. A PART OF THE UK PROPOSAL WAS THEN  
INSERTED AS SUBPARAGRAPH 16(B).

-- PARA 16(D): MBFR WAS DROPPED AS AN EXAMPLE  
BECAUSE LONDON THOUGHT THE REFERENCE WAS OBSCURE.

-- PARA 16(F): HIBBERT THOUGHT THIS POSSIBLE  
REASON WAS VERY FARFETCHED AND EYERS WAS  
INSTRUCTED TO TRY TO HAVE IT DELETED. HE EVENTUALLY  
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AGREED TO RETAIN IT WITH INSERTION OF THE INTRODUCTORY  
TWO WORDS, "PERHAPS EVEN."

-- PARA 17, FIRST SENTENCE: THIS WAS EXPANDED  
BECAUSE HIBBERT THOUGHT THE ORIGINAL TEXT WAS AN OVER-  
COMPRESSION OF THE INTENDED THOUGHT.

-- PARA 17, FOURTH SENTENCE: LONDON ASKED THAT  
THIS SENTENCE (NOW SHOWN IN BRACKETS IN THE REVISED  
TEXT IN REF (A) BE CHANGED TO "MAKE IT A MORE ACCURATE  
STATEMENT OF THE SOVIET POSITION." BOISSIEU  
OBSERVED THAT THE CHANGE IN WORDING WAS MINOR BUT THAT  
IT GOT AT THE HEART OF THE PROBLEM IN THE DIFFERENCES  
OF VIEWPOINT BETWEEN THE UK AND THE OTHERS. IT SUGGESTS  
THAT IT IS THE SOVIETS WHO ARE RIGHT THAT THERE IS NO  
GREATER BERLIN WITH A QUADRIPARTITE STATUS AND THAT  
IT IS ONLY THE ALLIES WHO ARE ARGUING THE CONTRARY.  
THE BONN GROUP THOUGHT PROLONGED DEBATE WAS USELESS  
AND THAT IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE SIMPLY TO REPORT THE  
TWO ALTERNATIVE FORMULATIONS.

-- PARA 18: LONDON REQUESTED A COMPLETE REVISION  
OF THIS PARAGRAPH, INCLUDING TOTAL ELIMINATION OF  
PARA 18(C) ON GROUNDS THAT ITS MEANING WAS UNCLEAR AND  
OF DUBIOUS VALIDITY. WE ARE NOT REPORTING THE TEXT OF  
THE BRITISH PROPOSALS FOR CHANGE OR THE LENGTHY  
DISCUSSION, ONLY THE REVISED TEXT AS FINALLY AGREED.  
THERE WAS NO BASIC DIFFERENCE OF SUBSTANCE EXCEPT AS  
REFLECTED IN HIBBERT'S SUGGESTION THAT PARA 18(B) BE

WATERED DOWN TO INDICATE THAT THE SOVIETS WERE BASICALLY ONLY CONTINUING TO ASSERT LONG-STANDING CLAIMS BUT CHANGING NOTHING. WE ARE NOT CERTAIN THAT THE REVISED TEXT AS FINALLY AGREED WILL MEET LONDON'S OBJECTIONS TO THE EARLIER VERSION.

-- PARA 19: HIBBERT THOUGHT THE BONN GROUP DRAFT  
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ATTRIBUTED MOTIVES TO THE SOVIET UNION THAT WENT BEYOND THE PRESENT EVIDENCE. WITH CONSIDERABLE REDRAFTING, SUBSTITUTE LANGUAGE PROPOSED BY THE UK WAS ACCEPTED.

-- PARA 20. THE ORIGINAL UK REWRITE OF THIS PARAGRAPH WAS PRIMARILY FOR EDITORIAL REASONS, THOUGH IT ALSO SOUGHT TO ELIMINATE REFERENCES TO "THE STATUS OF BERLIN." THE TEXT AS FINALLY AGREED OBIATED THE PROBLEM BY ELIMINATION OF MOST EXAMPLES OF DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN EAST BERLIN AND THE GDR.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00  
CIAE-00 ( ISO ) W

-----061814Z 053643 /63

O P 042144Z MAY 77 ZFF 4

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7997

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

USMISSION USBERLIN

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-- PARA 22: OTHER REPS ACCEPTED THE UK REQUEST TO ADD, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRD SENTENCE, A REFERENCE TO THE SOVIET DESIRE TO KEEP THE DEMARCHES CONFIDENTIAL AS POSSIBLE ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE THAT THE SOVIETS ARE NOT SEEKING A CONFRONTATION.

-- PARA 23: THE UK REQUEST FOR REPHRASING QUESTIONS (A) AND (E) WAS ACCEPTED. IN 23(B), AN ADDITIONAL QUESTION WAS ADDED AS A SECOND SENTENCE, ALSO AT UK REQUEST.

7. COMMENT: THE DISCUSSION REFLECTED ABOVE WAS VALUABLE, AT LEAST FOR BONN GROUP REPS THEMSELVES, IN THAT IT SERVED TO HIGHLIGHT SOME OF THE DIFFERENCES OF VIEWPOINT WHICH EXIST. IT WOULD HAVE BEEN EVEN MORE VALUABLE IF IT HAD OCCURRED SOME DAYS EARLIER SO  
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THAT A BETTER MEANS COULD HAVE BEEN FOUND FOR TREATING THESE DIFFERENCES OF VIEWPOINT IN THE ASSESSMENT OR OTHER PREPARATIONS FOR THE SENIOR LEVEL MEETING.

8. THE BRITISH PERFORMANCE WAS, AS NOTED ABOVE, ESSENTIALLY A REPETITION OF THAT FROM LAST DECEMBER, WHEN HIBBERT PRESENTED EXTENSIVE CHANGES -- MANY OF THEM BASICALLY NON-SUBSTANTIVE -- AT THE VERY LAST MINUTE. ALTHOUGH HIS ANSWER TO ANY CRITICISM WOULD BE THAT HE WAS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FACT THAT THE BONN GROUP HAD NOT COMPLETED ITS WORK IN TIME (OR THE UK REP HAD NOT REPORTED PROMPTLY ENOUGH) WE THINK IT MIGHT NOT BE AMISS FOR US OFFICIALS TO SUGGEST THAT A MORE TIMELY REACTION FROM LONDON WOULD HAVE IMPROVED THE QUALITY OF THE PAPERS PREPARED FOR MINISTERS. END COMMENT.  
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**To:** SECSTATE WASHDC LONDON MULTIPLE  
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